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THE

NEW CRISIS,

OR,

GRAND APPEAL TO THE NATION,

FOR

ITS DECISION

ON THIS

MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION,

Are happiness and freedom consistent with foreign commerce at all events, *or are they not?*

AND LIKEWISE ON THE

NECESSITY OR NON-NECESSITY

OF

A WAR.

BY PERICLES.

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THE Author of the following pages has been in the habit, for years, of thinking occasionally on the arguments debated on this question. But, finding it impossible to satisfy himself, or to come to a positive conclusion, by mere mental or verbal reasonings, he sat down to arrange them on paper, with a mind free from all bias; and to give his uncontrolled assent to that side, which should appear to be the most reasonable and conclusive. He knew it to be a question on which "much might be said on both sides:" and for this purpose he grappled unrestrained all the arguments within the compass of his memory, that might make for either side. By this means he has fully satisfied himself: and the same curiosity, which prompted this method of arrangement, in order to produce individual conviction, now induces him to bring the piece before the public, in order to find whether he can have the suffrage of the nation on his side.

THE

NEW CRISIS.

ALL theories are vain, that bewilder the reason of man; and all regulations pernicious, that tend to abridge his happiness. All happiness is vain, that is pursued by dishonest means; and all security unstable, that is not fortified by justice.

If the above positions be true (and to any one acquainted with the meaning of the terms by which they are established, they will appear evident), how are we to act as a nation, as a government founded on reasonable principles, consistent with the above data, and yet preserve our freedom and happiness unbroken?

Or, whether happiness and freedom of trade be not necessarily allied;—that the former may be enjoyed without the assistance of the latter, and the latter be secured without the blessing of the former.

On these two positions, I mean to found the arguments of the following inquiry; as they concern the discussion of this most important question, *Are happiness and freedom consistent with foreign commerce, at all events; or are they not?*—It will be the business of *A.* on this subject to maintain that they are not; and of *B.* to maintain that are.

In the first place, we cannot go a step, in the fairness of this inquiry, unless we throw off all our prejudices, prepossessions, and erroneous habits, at the threshold; and allow our minds to be as clear as blank paper for the reception of truth. Whoever views it through the optics of party, is sure to be misled; to draw false inferences from it, or to condemn it *in toto*, as metaphysical jargon. And to those, to whom the style and manner of argumentation may be new, a slight perusal will be worse than no perusal.

Having explained this much, it will be unnecessary to say more; and to have said less, would not have been sufficient to clear the ground for the entrance of the subject.

A. Americans, the question is proposed, and its meaning and import cleared of all ambiguities. It is my office, as an impartial inquirer after truth, to endeavour to develope it clear and unmixed for its own sake; and this I hope to be enabled to do, to my own satisfaction, leaving the conclusion and practical utility of my maxims to the accumulated decision of your own judgments. Ye know what

ye *have been;* ye may calculate *probably* what ye *may be;* but certainty is denied to the wisest of us.

Let us then, as much as in us lies, endeavour to make probability more certain, by listening calmly and dispassionately, unwarped by party interests and considerations, to those arguments (whose direct aim is national happiness), which have a tendency to promote this desirable end. We all of us naturally love *ourselves;* we generally love our wives and children, our relations, friends, and connections; *we should all love our country,* our common parent and foster-mother. What considerations, then, so dear to us, as her peace and happiness, so intimately connected and interwoven with those of her children, and her reciprocal influence on that of every individual?

Would the advocates for *foreign commerce at all hazards* be mad enough to risk the unhappy expedient of a *forced trade*, as believing, "that no other remedy is left us (now that we are near our wit's end in negociation) between that and starvation; or at least of slow and lingering misery, living without object, without animation, without industry to fill up the dread vacuity of life, and consequently without reward?" Let not such flowery and superficial arguments impose upon our judgments. They are ever the weapons of those whose object is luxury, not contentment; outward grandeur, but wanting the stability of inward comfort. We are never

in such danger of being deceived, as when the passions, or appetites, are allied in our cause. Then we are almost involuntarily driven to prefer temporary and present gratification, to that which is in its nature both solid and permanent.

I grant, as a liberal antagonist, that I feel for your situation, in consideration of what you *have enjoyed.* You are, or at least to all appearance *will be*, exactly in the situation of a person, who, for many years, has enjoyed a state of ease, wealth, and prosperity; and whom indulgence and a luxury of abundance have so pampered, that he has been accustomed to deny himself *no gratification* of pleasure or amusement, consistent with his fortune, and the love of his country; and who, by this usage, has become delicately averse to every thing that may have a tendency to interrupt the round of his accustomed enjoyments, even though his health should be the inevitable forfeit of a continuance in them. I grant, therefore, that it will be a business of some energy, to exert that fortitude, necessary to enable you to make the best of your situation; and to turn your capitals into those channels, which though, perhaps, not so speedily lucrative, are attended with less risk, and more stable advantage, both to the individual and the community.

'But why,' you will exclaim, 'ought we to *be driven* to this alternative? According, Mr. *A*, to your own system of morals, you will, perhaps, say, after all the sacrifices that we may make, that there

the *laws of nations*, which have regulated people in all ages, who have submitted to morality as a standard, will be any longer a bulwark *to you*, against the insiduous encroachments of *those nations*, with whom we are at variance. They have both established their creed, that those principles are no longer necessary, or binding. Policy, and expediency, are the order of the day with them. Justice is but a name: agreeable, indeed, to the imagination and the ear, from venerable descent; but not practicable in the present state of politics.

With respect to France, these maxims are of no new date. They were adopted during the time of her *old school politics*, by one of her most popular ministers of state; and now more successfully, because still more cunningly and knowingly, understood and practised by Talleyrand. Great Britain, likewise, either from choice, or what they call expediency, has adopted the same maxims into *her school*. How long since, is not exactly known; because it has never, till very recently, been generally believed, much less acknowledged.

That *she* was not the inventor of this diabolical system of morals, I have the charity to believe. Nor, indeed, has many of her most bitter enemies suffered themselves to harbour such an unprincipled suspicion. But now, when conviction flashes upon us like the glare of day, no one, not despicably sold to her interest, or perversely stubborn in wrong, can withhold his conviction of the truth.

That this pernicious maxim, from its late explosion upon our astonished senses, has been but *lately* received into favour with them, we have no reason to believe. It has been like a suspicious and dangerous guest at the banquet, for a considerable time, whom they were ashamed openly to acknowledge, but whom they have caressed and encouraged, as an exotic of promising invention, though of shameful birth and lawless principles.

Now, though I have not proved, that *no reparation, or accommodation whatever,* can be had by the powers who cherish such principles; yet, certainly, it is self-evident, from the facts above stated, that, no honest, lawful, honourable, or lasting accommodation, can be reasonably hoped, or expected, from either power. What then is your resource, if you are determined to run in the track of your old habits, *at all hazards*, but WAR? What sort of warfare? for nobody is Quixotic enough to attempt fighting us on our own ground. "War,—on that element, which their principles teaches them to usurp,—on the great highway of the world, which we are determined shall be free for us to move in, or we perish in the conflict."

And perish you would, certainly, to all intents and purposes. Feeble mortal! dost think by blowing to swell the frog to the size of Leviathan? and if you were, she could not blow away his ships. It is a poor recourse, to swell and swagger, how just soever our cause may be, when we want the power.

is *no virtue* in our proceedings. We were, before, a restless set of unprincipled adventurers; "the most worthless part of the community;" and *now only*, and not till now, when hard necessity drives us, we begin to make the best we can of the savings of a dangerous and now forbidden traffic.'

There is not, my fellow reasoners, such a denunciation in the whole system of my morals, nor indeed in that of any pure system in the universe, as to say, that 'there is no virtue to be exercised when necessity presses!' If the strong exercise of virtue be at any time necessary, it is when public calamity, of any kind, demands an energetic and painful exercise of it. In prosperous times, it is frequently *our interest* to be so; and it is at all times consistent with *our ease* to be virtuous, except when occasions like the present call for a greater quantity to be crowded in a smaller space, than the general current of life requires. Therefore, far from not earning that applause, which is, or at least ought ever to be, the consequence of virtuous sacrifices; you will, undoubtedly, be entitled to no ordinary share.

But you will again object, 'What! are we to have no reward but applause? the empty ebullitions of a changing and fickle populace? or even the more solid approbation of legislators, and of men at ease in their fortunes and possessions?—men who have acquired their riches by the slow

increase of time, or possessed them by hereditary inheritance; who have never been trained to the bustle of life, or habituated to the restlessness of business; men in whom *ambition* would be a crime? —Such approbation can neither fill our houses, nor replenish our stores.'

Your objection would be unanswerable, if you were asked to make such a sacrifice at the shrine of reason, or for the sake of politics, or principle, or even for the peace and quiet of your country. Such sacrifices we do not readily expect, from men trained up in your habits. We ask it, not only because it is expedient, but because it has now become absolutely necessary to your preservation, as men and citizens. I hope to prove, to your *conviction*, if not to your *satisfaction*, that by no means that "God and Nature have put in our power," are we able to remove this alternative, without forfeiting all claim to wisdom as a government, or civilization as a people; without becoming, not only more unjust, tyrannical, overbearing, and revengeful, than the nations by whom we are injured and controlled, but even of degrading ourselves to a nation of piratical barbarians.

In the first place, can you expect to oppose this alternative by any other means than war? Depend upon it, you will ultimately find negociation to be fruitless. You need be no longer imposed on, or lulled into security, or even hope, that those ancient and venerable names, *justice* and the principles of

If the ardour of our passions would but allow us to reflect, and turn our thoughts inward, we would find, though it may be a painful conviction to some, that we are but as *the infant in the cradle*, both with respect to *men* and *money*, compared to that colossal power, under whose *particular* influence we writhe.

What proceeding, then, is left, but to turn all our strength and attention inward on ourselves, and try what resources are to be found within the limits of our mother territory? Let us disdain to go a roving, in pursuit of illicit profit, when so much offers to the ingenious and patriotic mind, to be done at home. Ye know not the resources ye possess at home. Your strength has never yet been directed that way. Ye confess your country to be a land flowing with milk and honey, and *all* the necessaries, and *many* of the comforts, of life. It is so. The most vacant or stupid stranger, that ever travelled in it, cannot help perceiving and confessing this truth.

If, then, ye are possessed of so many natural and obvious blessings; what treasures and sources of wealth may not be opened, by the accumulated force of ingenuity and scientific knowledge, applied to the useful arts! such as the improvement of agriculture and husbandry, as it is managed by the people in England; to the encouragement and promotion of manufactures, of machinery, of mineralogy, and whatever may tend to make us rich within

ourselves, provident towards our families; disdaining foreign superfluities, and contented with our condition.

B. It is with considerable diffidence, my fellow-citizens, that I enter the lists with this formidable *A.* By a system of logic, not *in common use*, he has endeavoured to hem me in, and abridge my answers, by raising or anticipating objections, which he might suppose I would, in the course of my arguments, *urge;* and then rubbing them away with a dexterous sweep of the brush that laid them on. But be assured, my brethren, no mode or figure of speech, or manner of reasoning, that does not appear to me conclusive and unanswerable, shall deter me from exerting what little abilities I may possess, in disentangling such an *important question*, from all attempts of complex reasoners and subtle refiners; who would obscure, by dint of sophistry, your dearest and most important interests—That happiness and freedom are *alone* consistent with free trade;—and that, without it, we can be neither happy nor free.

Having then stated the grounds on which I mean to rest the fabric of my argument, and recalled to your memory the side of the question on which I act, I will, without hesitation, repair to the field of contention, and parry my antagonist's thrusts, article by article: for any other mode of defence would stand at too great distance from the close armour which he wears.

Article first, begins, 'we all naturally love ourselves,'—self-evident. 'We generally love our wives, children, relations, &c.'—equally evident. 'We should all love our country; what considerations so dear,' &c.

Does *A.* imply from these axioms, that we, the advocates for commerce, *and free trade at all hazards*, are not impressed with an equal love for our country with those who maintain the opposite opinion? I believe no impartial person (who is not warped by theories and systems), in any degree acquainted with the history of nations, their progress, civilization, refinement, and ultimate happiness, will assert such a paradox, as that commercial men are less lovers of their country, than agriculturalists, artists, or mechanics; but demonstrably more beneficial in promoting her grandeur and happiness.

If it is true of them, respecting the latter, it cannot, as a natural antecedent, be certain respecting the former. For who, I would ask, can have stronger motives and connections, to implant this *amor patriæ* in his mind, than he, whose pride and profit, and consequent influence in society, all tend, by their reciprocal force, to cement the bonds of affection; to encourage him to labour for its happiness and prosperity; and to estimate it as a jewel above *all foreign price*, while it continues to foster and encourage those pursuits which attach him to the soil, in preference to any other? Farther than

this preference, which is obviously built upon a superiority (real or imaginary) of situation, climate, government, connections, or local comforts, no man of common understanding can prefer one place, or country, to another. Patriotism itself, without these blessings implied, is but *the shadow of a dream.*

Second article. ' Would the advocates *for foreign commerce at all hazards* be mad enough to risk the unhappy expedient of a *forced trade*, as believing, that no other remedy is left us (now that we are near our wit's end with negociation),' &c. I would be glad to know what the *all hazards* of *A.* means. He has employed the expression as the meaning of his opponents; but surely *he* must have a peculiar sense of *his own* attached to it; for such a vague undefined expression would not be the motto of any body of men, whose standing in society enabled them to make choice of a better. " All hazards!" If the object were *all* hazard, or *risk*, which, according to etymology and grammatical resolution, are substantives synonimous in meaning; it would in *very deed* be a Quixotic undertaking. It would, indeed, be puffing up the frog with wind, that he may appear a formidable antagonist for the whale. But, with your leave, sir, I will avail myself of the liberty of speech, to place the expressions of those, whom *you suppose* my adherents, to their proper meaning, by the proper choice of words. Therefore, the sentence shall stand

thus:—Free trade, *at all events*. And by *this meaning*, and by *no other*, can I pretend to overturn your position.

Having thus cleared the ground of all the *rubbish of words*, that obstruct the passage of truth; I will enter with more freedom into the pith of those arguments, which you have, with *metaphysical pride*, thrown in my way.

You seem, with crocodile tears, to deplore our situation, and to sigh with "sad civility," from a consideration of the comforts *we have enjoyed*, that we should be reduced to this sad alternative. You degrade us by *one blow* from the proud consciousness of freemen; and say, that, considering *our habits of life*, you do not expect *from us* such extraordinary sacrifices. You ask *it only* 'because it is *expedient*, and as it has now become *absolutely necessary* to us, as men and as citizens.'

Strange situation! Deplorable dilemma for an American to be placed! What, man! have you, by the wisdom of metaphysical knowledge, and scholastic learning, acquired that glorious distinction called *philosophical apathy;* that not a passion, nerve, or fibre, of your frame vibrates with indignation and resentful courage, at the propagation of, and submission to, such tame and slavish proceedings? You may hug yourself on the omnipotence of such *passive wisdom*. But, *for me or mine*, I would rather, if I had my choice, be the *dung-horse*, than such a man as you.

Again, 'you hope to prove to *our conviction*, if not to *our satisfaction*, that, by no "means that God and nature" have put in our power, are we able to remove this alternative; without losing all claim to wisdom as a government, or civilization as a people; and even of degrading ourselves to a nation of *piratical barbarians*.'

Strange man! that you will not allow us to defend ourselves by the same weapons by which we are attacked! If ever there was a just pretence for war in the world, it must be this:—to repel injustice and aggression by the same means. Reason, justice, right, are, by *your own exposition*, but splendid words with them. They weigh no more than the dust in the balance, for our cause. What alternative, then, we exclaim, (to make use of your own expression) is left us but WAR—retaliation? And what mode of retaliation can we adopt, (since 'no nation is Quixotic enough to fight us on our own ground,') but the same by which we are aggrieved; retaliation on that element, the usurpers of which, if we cannot conquer, we may at least be able to annoy; whom we may, by a proper exertion of our energy and resources, be able, in some degree, to humble, by *a rivalship of trade;* and to drive that trade, by the strength of governmental protection, in spite of all opposition?

How, you will ask, can this be done? I will tell you, as well as my poor abilities enable; though, perhaps, I may not be able to season the dish of my

reasonings with such metaphysical stamina, as may, by its poignancy, mount up to the altitude of *your satisfaction.* But that I shall be able, according to the laws of nature and *common sense* (if you have not already, by the mere "cunning of words," refined away that mortal quality) to produce *conviction*, I cannot, as a sensible and thinking creature, doubt its operation on you.

In the first place, then, I would, or we would, if the personal pronoun *I* should sound too consequential, or egotistical, in your metaphysical ears, or the *government* should, pass a law, to allow no vessel or vessels to sail from any port in the United States, without a sufficient convoy, to accompany and protect them. Let the trade be regulated according *to law;* and let every trader give notice, in the public prints, to what place he intends to make his shipments; what sort of cargo he has shipped; and that he has conformed to the regulations of law in every respect; and then, at the time appointed for the fleet to sail, he must be ready to join it, or remain in port.

Do you think, that, in the plenitude of your wisdom and foresight, this scheme would prove abortive? and that it would only (to use your own simile) be trying to swell the frog to the size of Leviathan? It may in *your microscopic judgment*, appear so; but to those who trust in the evidence of their senses and experience, it would, if not effectual, be the best *that can be done.*

But if you are not satisfied; or, according to your hypothetical habits, you may require more verbal demonstration of the possibility, or practicability, of this mode of *forced trade*, you shall be indulged to very plenitude, with a description of the whole process.

Every merchant vessel, then, shall be armed with men and metal, equal to its bulk; and thus equipped and guarded, it will be strange, if a fleet of, perhaps, seventy ships, with a proper convoy, could not be able to force a passage on the broad seas; and, even if attacked, to defend and preserve the valuable part of it, from capture or destruction. Is this scheme ridiculous? or is not practicable? or would it be *all hazard*, without the least probability of success or advantage? Would it not, though even mixed with doubt, be superior to a state of inertness and supine indifference; to a state of philosophic apathy and passiveness, that submits, without resistance, "to every encroachment of the violent and assuming;" wraps itself up in its own wisdom, contented with the barrenness of its situation; believing that no place, situation, or condition, of life, is preferable to another; that all actions are *involuntary;* that man is governed by a *fatal necessity*, to which even superior beings are subject; and, that passive obedience and non-resistance form the law of our lives? Such a *baseless vision* may form the fabric of *your life*, and those of *your school;* but, for me or mine (I repeat

it again) I would rather be something *less than man*, than a man of such belief.

Such a belief can neither be reconciled to our nature as sensitive beings, nor to our understanding as christians. For, as a wise and learned divine* says, "That passive tameness which submits, without opposition, to every encroachment of the violent and assuming, forms no part of christian duty; but, on the contrary, is destructive of general happiness and order."

This is the very point I wished to attain in my argument; directly in point to the side of the question I have adopted, and conclusive, both in respect to its weight as a maxim, and its authority as emanating from the mind of one of the greatest and the best of men.—Mark it again, "my lad;" for "a greater than I is here:"—"Destructive of general happiness and order." "What is destructive?" Such passive tameness as *you*, and those of *your school* possess, or pretend to possess; and lull your consciences asleep, by dignifying such baseness, with the venerable name of pure philosophy! How long (must I again repeat) shall we continue to be awed by the mere "cunning of words;" and allow ourselves to be led by the silken strings of theories and fine-spun systems, to the exclusion of our natural senses, feelings, and even *passions;* which, under proper regulation, ever *were*, and ever *will be*, our truest guides to happiness?

* Blair.

But enough of this; for I think I have answered all your objections, that are in any degree entitled to an answer; except your last, which, I suppose, you consider of more weight than all the others; and, of course, *unanswerable*. Whatever may be your opinion on this subject, or that of your adherents, it shall not deter me from making the attempt.

Last article: "What proceeding, then, is left, but to turn all our strength and attention inward on ourselves, and try what resources are to be found within the limits of our mother territory? Let us disdain to go a roving," &c. *See page* 11.

I should rather like to *see* than *hear* of the fruits of this "strength and attention turned inward on ourselves." It is too much like the rest of your theories, to deserve particular notice. Plausible, indeed, to the "imagination and the ear," but inapplicable to the purposes for which you would apply them.

You may say, that this is mere assertion without proof. Proof you *shall have*, if it be possible for the imperfect standard of words to afford it. But that I shall give such proof as may mount up to the standard of *your philosophy*, I have little expectation.

Represent, then, to yourself, a community of active and intelligent beings; accustomed from their infancy to enjoy civil liberty in all its plenitude;—to the free intercourse of society of all

ranks;—to an abundance of all the comforts which render human life a blessing;—to the complete operation and enjoyment of all those faculties which freedom of trade and intercourse, and a lively expectation, produce;—to the rich repositories of classical literature, arts, science, trade, &c.;—and, lastly, though not the least of those comforts enumerated, the intermixture with us of many emigrants of skill and genius, in the ways of life. All these taken into consideration, think if it be possible to confine such a people within the sequestered walks of domestic life, of philosophical apathy. You may place Damon by the side of Chloe, and Darby by that of Joan; but, depend on it, they will play truant for the sake of trade. Oh, Trade! thou rich attribute, and happy pursuit of human life; who art not only able to supply nature with the abundance of all climates, but even to decorate thy little habitation with beauties not its own. By thy influence the ship moves along the ocean to the different extremities of the earth, and returns laden with the rich harvest of every clime. Thou diffusest joy in every face that crowds the busy street. Thou adornest the pavilion with the metals of Peru, and the persons of our fair with the draperies of India. Inspired by thee, the song goes round, wit sparkles, the old crack their jokes, the exhilarating juice promotes the harmony, and all ages leap with joy!

"If, then, ye are possessed of so many natural and obvious blessings, how much may they be improved, by the accumulated force of genius and industry, directed in their proper channels; to the improvement of agriculture, manufactures, machinery, mineralogy," &c.

What encouragement, I would ask, can there be to engage *with vigour* in any of those pursuits [and without vigour, let me add, there would be no advancement] without the hopes or prospect of reward by trade? There could be no sufficient vent for our surplus articles among ourselves; and the moment that reward ceases to recompense extraordinary exertions, that same moment man ceases to be stimulated to them. It is not in the *nature of man* to be energetic or zealous in any cause, where the hope of remuneration is cut off. For it this hope that actuates him, not only in his worldly pursuits, but even, and yet more fervently, in that preparation and exertion in religious duties, by which he hopes to attain immortal happiness.

What is the use then, of multiplying or accumulating words on the subject? It is, according to your own hypothesis, a self-evident principle, that all attempts at refinement, perfectibility, and total independence of one nation on another, are as absurd as the same doctrines with respect to neighbours and communities.

Why should we linger, then, and show, by our tameness, that we are in *very deed debased*, and de-

generated from the heroic stock from which we sprung; that we are become, by the mere influence of climate, and love of luxury, a fallen race of mortals; sunk, by the *mere passion of gain*, to bear every obloquy, and suffer every degradation, could we but pursue an *illicit trade at all events?*

No, sir, I deny the position. For neither shall *you*, nor the children of the stock from whence we sprung, nor the Abbe Raynal*, or any other of his belief, make *me* believe any such incongruities. We are a people, it is true, who, perhaps, by climate, and certainly by civil institutions, and education, are inured to the habits and virtues of bearing much unreasonableness, and forbearing retaliation. But that *we* are base enough to bear a continuation of repeated and unprovoked injury, is a mistake. There is a point, sir, in the virtue of forbearance, beyond which to endure would be a crime. And can that crime be attached to America? Let her history answer the question.

What, then, remains to us (to use nearly the same style you did at the conclusion of your argument), but to exert all our physical and moral force, and, instead of sheltering ourselves under the wisdom of *philosophical apathy*, to show ourselves *men*—men of the same blood, passions, interests, and

* "America belittles her productions.—Animals degenerate in America."

courage, as those by whom we are degraded—men, who, though equally, and perhaps *more determined*, because *more injured and insulted*, *will not*, nor, I hope, *shall not*, be guilty of equal injustice.

The time is come, if ever there was a time, when we ought, *of necessity*, to show whether we do in reality possess the metal of action equal to the metal of our words. We have long talked, and talked again; and even talked as big as emperors. Now we ought to act, or we will, in reality, confirm the unfavourable opinion they have propagated and believed.

A. It would, my fellow-citizens, be a shameful desertion of my subject, to leave it uncleared from the plausible, though specious, arguments of *B.* Arguments the more dangerous, because the more apt to be believed, having *the appetites* (and some of them of the worst order) of human kind to plead in their favour. Must I again repeat it:—we are never in such danger of being misled, as when we summon such auxiliaries to our aid. We then degrade ourselves from the proud consciousness of intellectual beings, and grovel in the erring mist and mire of the passions.

Of all the mistakes and sources of misery that have ever affected, or continue to affect, human kind, that of *war* (no matter for what object) is certainly the most direful, wasteful, and pernicious. "If," *B*, (to use the divine language of your fa-

vourite Blair,) " there be any fertile source of mischief to human life, it is, beyond doubt, the misrule of passion. It is this which poisons the enjoyment of individuals, overturns the order of society, and strews the path of life with so many miseries, as to render it indeed a vale of tears. These have overspread the earth with bloodshed. These have pointed the assassin's dagger, and filled the poisoned bowl. These, in every age, have furnished too copious materials for the orator's pathetic declamation, and for the poet's tragical song*." " When allowed to rage with uncontrolled fury [such as in war], they are more than sufficient to blast the little comfort allotted by Providence to man."

I would, therefore, my brethren, advise you to give no more weight to the reasonings of my opponent, than they justly and fairly deserve: that is, to view them through the clear and unbiassed glass of reason; and give them no credence farther than they point to truth, or tend to happiness. Nor would I wish *my own arguments* to be weighed by a more favourable standard.

In the first place: No position can be more false than that which he sets out with, couched under the form of a *paradox*. " Will any assert, that commercial men are less lovers of their country, than agriculturalists, artists, or mechanics; but

* Vide Blair's Sermon, on the evils which flow from unrestrained passions.

demonstrably more beneficial in promoting her grandeur and happiness." "If it be true of them respecting the latter," by which he must mean the latter part of the sentence, "it cannot, as a natural antecedent, be true respecting the former."

No such positive antecedent or consequent flows from the question. For it may be true of them in *part*, respecting both sides, and not true in *whole*. According, therefore, to mathematical axiom, a part is less than a whole.

What is the use of varnishing the subject over by the eloquence of words, and not striking *at once* at the root of the matter? Words too, ambiguous in meaning, and not conclusive of the matter contended for. How often am *I* accused by *you* of this play upon words; of this *metaphysical jargon?* You were not aware, when you used them, that they would be retorted on yourself with *double interest*. But the fact is, you wished the public to believe they were exclusively the weapons of those who make use of my mode of reasoning; and, therefore, you were glad to be beforehand with me, and to lay hold on any sort of weapon that might help you to win in a bad cause.

I am too well acquainted with the resort of those who throw such terms of reproach in the fair face of truth, to be either intimidated by their subterfuges, or arrested in the steady career of right, by such paltry artifices. The purest integrity, and the soundest philosophy, are often thus beset, by

the yelping of such superficial critics. They may, and often do, raise a noise, as shallow waters and empty vessels always sound the loudest; but, far from being able to pluck truth up by the root, they tend to rivet her more to the centre.

It would be in vain to answer you *article* by *article*, as you pretended in your outset to follow me. [How successfully, let the public judge.] I will only oppose those parts on which you seem to lay the *most stress;* and afterward take leave of you, for "*metal more attractive!*"

In the second place. "For who," *B.* asks, "can have stronger motives and connections, to implant this *amor patriæ* in their minds, than he (the merchant) whose pride and profit, and consequent influence in society, all tend," &c.

This may be true of some, and false respecting others—all the answer such a question requires.

Again. "I would be glad to know what the *all hazards* of *A.* means!" It means, *B.*, exactly what the definition of the word conveys; and neither more nor less. But I am willing, for the sake of fairness and impartiality, to adopt your amendment "all events." And when I have, in pure complaisance, done so, the event of a hazardous undertaking will never alter the means by which it was accomplished. For, if the means be inadequate to the undertaking, the event must necessarily be disastrous. Q. E. D.

And again. *B.* triumphs in his own little wits, thus:—"Having now cleared the ground of all the *rubbish of words*, that obstruct the passage of truth," *he* "will enter with more freedom into the pith of those arguments, *I have*, with *metaphysic pride*, thrown in his way!"

O, shame! O, shame! where is thy blush? Could you not, unhappy *B.*, find a reproach less hackneyed than that, in the whole catalogue of reproaches? *Metaphysic pride!!* Who is your author for such an expression? Beattie*, the great champion of the *sensitive system* of truth and morals, in answer to some modern philosophers, who found theirs on the *intellectual system.* But if the former system be the way to find out "the nature and *immutability* of truth," it must be as *mutable* as the system on which it is built. But this is digressing from the main point: and I only took notice of this author, as he stood in my way; and likewise to show the great *original* of my friend *B.*'s expression, "*metaphysic pride:*" an author, who (in justice it must be said), though guilty of this weakness of reproach, must ever be read with pleasure and profit, by every lover of religion and humanity.

As to your other reproaches, *B.*, of *crocodile tears*, *dung-horse*, and such like, they must be left to perish unanswered, among the rubbish which con-

* Beattie, on the Nature and Immutability of Truth.

tained them. Your scheme of warfare must now be noticed, since I have, by the merit of my "*philosophical apathy*," ceased to be irritated by your words. And here it shall have a fair hearing.

"Every merchant vessel shall be armed with men and metal, equal to its bulk; it would be strange if a fleet of, perhaps, seventy ships, with a proper convoy, could not be able to force a passage on the broad seas; and, if attacked, to defend and preserve the valuable part of it from capture or destruction. Is this scheme ridiculous?" &c.

If it is not ridiculous, it would be indeed *all hazard*, "without the least probability of success or advantage."

You see my answers are short; without even the *rubbish of words* to swell them. This cannot be *metaphysic pride;* for it delights to say more than it understands.

No. If your energies are so great, or the cup of your sufferings so full, that ye must have WAR; wage war with *the wing* of the beast, that stands in our way:—with our "good friends," the Canadians. Leave her mother neither branch nor root to nestle here, in North America. Then may ye expect to play a game of no hazard: and the acquisition would be beneficial, at all events. By the dint of *dollars* we have been able to purchase the western territory on our borders, and by this means secured ourselves from the annoyance of *restless neighbours*. Let us, by dint of *arms*, achieve

the territories on the eastern side of our borders; and this event will make us safe from the attacks, or encroachments, of insidious and *dangerous neighbours*. Would this scheme be ridiculous, or impracticable? Or, "would it be all hazard, without the least probability of success or advantage?" Why, "my lad," it would secure to you, at once, all the fur trade of America. Then teach your sons how to manufacture it; and let foreign nations, if they should want it *desperately*, come and buy it of us; or, indeed, any thing besides, that we can spare, and they cannot do without. Let us renounce the carrying trade, *at once*, rather than be embroiled at *all hazard* battles, on the sea, with foreign nations.

I cannot help recurring, with renovated satisfaction, to a contemplation of the happy millennium, which such a line of conduct would, by the blessing of God, produce, on these quiet and isolated shores. Remote as we are, by natural situation, from those infatuated countries, where the passions rage and roar; and where they are trained, both by habit and education, to consider man as a natural enemy to his brother; that he must be clad in armour to meet his approach; and all the fiends and furies at his beck, to ward off his meditated danger:—I say, I cannot help thinking it strange, that we should ever, since we threw off their yoke, or at least so long, have imitated their follies, or put ourselves in the power of their vices. That we should

not before now have seen that "beauty of holiness," to use a scripture phrase, which our physical resources naturally open to us, and disdain to go a roving, when so many comforts invite our industry at home.

"But, shall we have no commerce at all? no foreign market to carry off our surplus articles, and set the wheels of industry a-going?" I tell you, ye shall have commerce with *all the globe*, and their streamers flying in every harbour, if ye would but renounce your carrying trade, to *them*, who cannot do without *us*. Ye must sell them every thing ye can make or spare. But let them come for it, if they want. Rather let your surplus articles perish, than carry them to such ingrates: for, there is no "friendship in trade."

Figure to yourself, then, a nation of people, possessing within their grasp the boundaries of a whole continent—with all the advantages, local and external, which can belong to the most favoured nations—with a diversity of soil and climate, capable of bringing forth *all the necessaries*, and, with skill, *every luxury*, of life—inhabited, too, by a race of people, active, intelligent, and zealous in the cause of public good—lovers of their country, of its rights, its laws, and liberties; but enemies to tyranny, to oppression, and, above all, to foreign usurpation and encroachment—magnanimous in their public intercourse, but sharp and acute in their trade and business—whom you cannot bend

to mean condescensions, and tame submissions—whom it is in vain either to flatter or threaten; but who love to hear their true interest pointed out, and to pursue it above all things; considering it as the *pearl of just price*, and superior to all external or temporary considerations.

With such a people; with such physical blessings annexed to them; with such virtues, principles, and prepossessions; and, with such a *world* of rich territory to range in; will you maintain, that they have it not in their power to make themselves as happy as the lot of mortality can admit?—You cannot in reason, though you may by the dint of sophistication. Let us examine in reason, then, how this happy work can be begun, directed, and accomplished.

Why it has already begun*, in many parts of the union, during the necessity which the late embargo imposed. But your clamours and fears raised a hue and cry against it, sufficient to chill every active principle (in any but patriotic and determined minds), that it did not spread so wide as it would otherwise have done, had no opposition been made. Now, when the same necessity recurs, in a tenfold ratio; and with the unanimity and reconcilement of almost all parties to this necessity, knowing that nothing can remove it but superior strength and power, and as that power does not yet appear to be

* Domestic manufactures.

in our possession, considering our infant state; why should we attempt things evidently beyond our strength? Better to submit with a good grace to our ample situation.

Now, as we know the happy work to be *begun*, and prospering in many places, and that all opposition to it only recoils on our own heads; there will be little fear of its proper *direction*, considering the number of skilful emigrants and citizens, bred to, and acquainted with, such operations in all their varieties. We may only rest upon and enjoy the prospect of its *accomplishment;* as it relates to a unique design and coincidence of all other parts of industry and improvement.

And here will open a field for the patriot and philanthrophist to contemplate with no common degree of rapture and enthusiasm; considering it as the consummation and practical application of all those sublime theories, which he has, by frequent and mortifying disappointments, been compelled to distrust the practicability; and to consider as things suitable only for philosophers, but not for the generality of mankind.

We may place, then, Palemon by the side of Lavinia, with perfect safety; and the manufacturer by that of the husbandman;—

> "When tyrant custom shall not shackle man,
> But free to follow nature is the mode."

Would not such a plan be reviving those Arcadian scenes, so much talked of by poets and philosophers? Or would it not rather be the beginning of that millennium, predicted in the Bible, and expected by the Christian? Let no man say that these schemes are Utopian. Allowing them to be impracticable in their full extent, he is certainly a greater benefactor of mankind, who holds up the dignity, and encreasing perfectibility, of human nature, than he who groans out the dismal ditty of his depravity and unteachableness.

B. says, in the height of his rapturous invocation to trade, "that the *sparkling juice* shall promote the harmony (by which he must mean the general giddiness which luxury produces); and all ages leap with joy!"

This sparkling juice of *B.*'s (under which denomination he must include *spirituous liquors*, as there would be very few of *any age* who would leap with the joy of the pure sparkling juice, being above their reach) brings me naturally to speak of that sort of joy and sorrow, which the too free use of those pernicious liquids has produced for a considerable time, in this country.

Has not the too free use of them pervaded all ranks and conditions in society, and among many of the brightest ornaments of each, produced the most fatal and tragical effects? We are not easily moved by the misery or wretchedness of that class

of drunkards, who are brutal in their natures, beastly in their appetites, and perversely cruel and improvident towards themselves. Their wives, and innocent offspring, do, indeed, move our pity and commiseration; and it is our duty to relieve them. But, when we behold a man, whom God and nature have combined to mark out for usefulness; on whose piercing eye sits observation; whose well-framed mind, whose manly readiness of knowledge, whose quick sensibility of right and wrong, whose willingness to oblige, and be obliged; and, in fine, whose whole moral and physical qualities (bating but *this vice*) point him out as a man formed to be a benefactor of his species: yet, perhaps, to see all these shining and useful qualities blasted in the bud; or taking an eccentric course, and dazzling without being useful; or, even when useful, in some degree, not surely to their possessor, but subjecting him to continued disappointments, mortifications, and misfortunes, sufficient to make him nauseate his existence: what man can behold such a luminary, thus eclipsed, thus setting under the horizon of forgetfulness, and, perhaps, of infamy, of horror, of remorse of conscience, and not drop a tear of sorrow at his untimely end!

I shall now take leave of you, *B.*, and the votaries of your exhilarating juice, with all my heart. We would wish no *such joy*, as is produced by it, to promote the harmony of our republic. We shall have *juice*, it is true, pressed from the pith of our

apples or grapes, or made from our malt. But we would wish no distillation, or chymical poison, to rear its serpent tongue, or hiss in the glass of our citizens. No. Harmony proceeding from brotherly love, a union of interest, and a noble emulation for our country's good, shall exhilarate and expand our hearts and affections, superior to all modes of joy, which the most inventive luxury can produce.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 4, line 7, for *that are*, read *that they are.*
Page 6, line 15, for *love*, read *laws.*

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